

contents

List of Figures and Tables	vii
Chapter One: Perspectives on European Integration	5
The Question	5
The Arguments	11
Agenda and Conflicts	12
Actors and Process	13
Positions	17
The Method	18
Chapter Two: The Conceptual Framework	23
The Calculus of European Treaty Reforms	23
Europe's Constitutional Quandary	23
Why Efficiency is Difficult to Attain	29
Legitimacy and Political Integration	42
A Cross-sectional Perspective	44
Patterns of Intergovernmental Conflict	47
Preferences	47
How Preferences Transform into Positions	50
The Origins of Governmental Reform Positions	55
The Process and Set of Relevant Actors	63
Relevant Actors	63
Procedural Constraints	67
Summary	70
Chapter Three: Patterns of Intergovernmental Conflict	73
Empirical Methodology	73
Spatial Models	73
Data	75
Model	78
Results	80
Governmental Positions	81
Substantial Interpretation	84
Summary	96
Chapter Four: A Short History of EU Treaty Negotiations	97
Amsterdam	97
Nice	106
Rome II	115
The Convention	126
Summary	131

Chapter Five: What Explains Governments' Positions on European Integration?	133
The Unitary Actor Assumption	134
The Economy	138
The Voters	143
Parties and Parliament	149
Discussion of Results	160
Chapter Six: The Effect of Nonseparable Preferences in EU Treaty Negotiations	167
Theoretical Relevance	167
Estimating the Nonseparability of Governmental Preferences	171
Simulation of Endogenous Change	183
Discussion of the Results	201
Chapter Seven: Solving Europe's Constitutional Quandary	205
Steering the Fleet Through Heavy Waters	205
European Integration and its Limits	213
References	219
Appendix	231
Index	233